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FOUNDATIONS FOR A DURABLE PEACE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

BY HANS VON KALTENBORN,

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I am going to present a point of view on the relations between America and Japan somewhat different from that presented by Dr. Iyenaga.¹ In every discussion by Japanese of this problem, they declare that it is a local issue peculiar to this or that state which may happen to be passing anti-alien land legislation. And yet the character of their demands will show that the issue is far more fundamental, that it cannot be exclusively related to the legislation of any one state or any half-dozen states in our Union (for there are half a dozen which have passed anti-alien land legislation similar to that of California); that it is, on the contrary, a fundamental problem of racial equality.

Let us, therefore, put out of our minds once and for all, the notion that this discrimination against the Japanese is an arbitrary discrimination practised by wilful individual units of our federal system. The problem confronting the United States and Japan is a fundamental problem of equality, and that problem has its origin in the citizenship law of the United States,² which has been on our statute books for many generations. This law provides that no member of the brown or yellow race can obtain citizenship in this country, and hence makes impossible political equality for Japanese residents.

If we desire to remove that discrimination—and I am not at all sure that in the course of time we may not desire to remove it—that is one thing, but let us not forget that this discrimination applies to 800,000,000 people and not exclusively to the Japanese. It is the federal naturalization law which declares that the right to become naturalized applies only to aliens being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity, and to persons of African descent, and thereby makes it impossible for any state to grant political equality to the yellow or the brown races.

¹ See page 124.

² *Revised U. S. Statutes*, Section 2169.

With this much established, let me go a little further and try to point out how we can best approach this problem at the conclusion of the war when we shall confront the opportunity of creating a durable peace. We must approach it, now that we are allied with all the white peoples whose lands border the Pacific, in full coöperation with these peoples. We must join with them as well as with Japan and the representatives of other elements of the brown and of the yellow races, at the great peace conference. There we must all work together to find the definite solution of this problem, because it is not a local problem peculiar to a state; it is not a local problem peculiar to the United States and Japan; it is a problem which has caused serious difficulty and serious thought, aye, and serious disturbance in every white country which borders the Pacific. We are going to get a false perspective on this issue if we fail to remember that it is an acute issue in British Columbia, where there is worse discrimination against the Japanese than in the United States, for under the laws of Canada, British Columbia has naturalized natives of Japan and yet has refused to let them vote, a discrimination which has been upheld by the Privy Council in London. In Australia we find that Japanese are not only unable to own land, but they are forbidden to enter the country. Even Japanese students and travelers who may come and go as they like in the United States are not permitted to remain in Australia over twelve months. South Africa, too, desires to keep out Asiatics and has taken steps to prevent their coming. Wherever white men predominate they have fought against Asiatic immigration.

Thus we face a problem that is not that of a state, nor that of the United States, but a problem as broad and as deep as the gulf which separates two races whose standards of living are far apart. Until we remove the economic aspect of the problem inherent in Japanese immigration to our Pacific Coast, we are not likely to find a solution which will satisfy Japan as well as the United States. Professor Tatabe, of the Tokio Imperial University, summed it all up in this one sentence: "Under the American standard of living two billion people can exist on earth, under the Japanese standard twenty-two billion." Until this economic difference can be compromised this Japanese question will continue to plague the white races of the earth.

Episodes in Japan's history make us feel that it is the honor of

Japan and loyalty to *Japan* which have been emphasized, and that a spirit of autocratic imperialism has sometimes dominated the sober sense of that nation. Therefore, let us hope that in Japan, too, those democratic elements now struggling for expression will triumph, and that those liberals who are, like Dr. Iyenaga, responsive to democratic ideals, may guide Japan's future course. Then, with the liberals of Japan and America coöperating, with the people of all the lands that border the Pacific working together to settle this issue as we are now fighting together for the same cause, let us hope that then we can at last settle this question in a way which shall make the foundation of an enduring peace.

NATIONALITY AND FREEDOM OF COMMERCE PREREQUISITES TO A DURABLE PEACE

BY STEPHEN P. DUGGAN, PH.D.,

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The Balkan problem we have had with us for over a century. It was the occasion of the present war. It will be with us in the future unless a wise solution and a solution based upon proper principles of international reorganization is followed.

Now, what are those principles of international reorganization? As Professor Brown of Princeton¹ has stated there are three principles upon which such a reorganization must be based if the reorganization is to last: the recognition of the principle of nationality; the right of nations to their own free development without being dominated by other nations; and the right of a nation to freedom of commerce with the world's markets.

The reason why the Balkan problem has been with us for over a century and has presented itself as the powder magazine of Europe for the last fifty years is because every one of those principles has been violated. The Balkans have never been permitted freedom of development because of the rival antagonisms of the great powers of Europe. For a long time Great Britain felt that in order to make secure her passage to India and her commerce to the East, it was necessary that the Straits be in the control of Turkey, and for that

¹ See page 76.